



Contents

- 1a Letter smuggled out of Cawnpore
- b A transcript
- 2 A page from the official transcript of General Neill's diary
- 3 Four pages from *The Times* for August 31st, 1857
- 4 A letter in code from Agra to General Neill
- 5 Pages from G. F. Atkinson's *The Campaign in India*
- 6 Muslims and Hindus: an outline of religious beliefs and the caste system
- 7 Photographs taken in India in 1858
- 8 Six Broadsheets

Jackdaws

- 1 The Battle of Trafalgar
- 2 The Plague and Fire of London
- 3 Magna Carta
- 4 Columbus and the Discovery of America
- 5 The Armada
- 6 The Gunpowder Plot
- 7 Shaftesbury and the Working Children
- 8 The Mayflower and the Pilgrim Fathers
- 9 Young Shakespeare
- 10 Joan of Arc
- 11 The Crimean War
- 12 The Slave Trade and its Abolition
- 13 James Watt and Steam Power
- 14 The American Revolution *
- 15 The '15 and the '45
- 16 The Voice
- 17 Peterloo and Radical Reform
- 18 The Battle of Waterloo
- 19 The South Sea Bubble
- 20 The Voyages of Captain Cook
- 21 The Trial and Execution of Charles I
- 22 The Indian Mutiny
- 23 Wolfe at Quebec
- 24 Richard III and the Princes in the Tower
- 25 Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries
- 26 Mary Queen of Scots

* In Preparation

1145

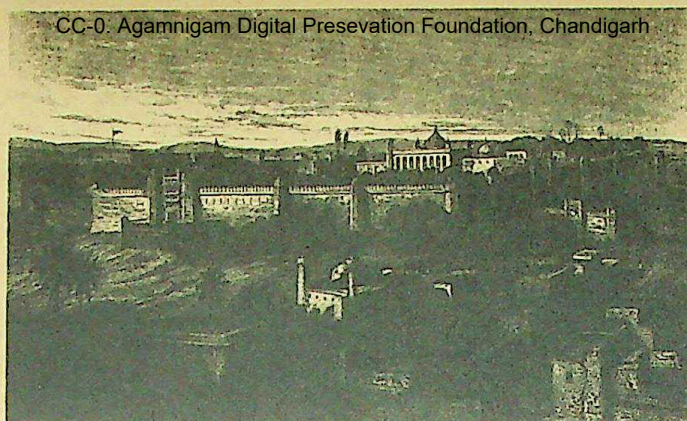
Jackdaw No. 22

A collection of contemporary documents compiled and edited by

John Langdon-Davies

Jonathan Cape, Thirty Bedford Square, London





CC-0: Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

THE KING'S PALACE AT DELHI.

Mansell Collection

India in 1857

In 1857 India had not officially come under British rule. British influence was exercised through the East India Company, a huge commercial enterprise whose original charter was granted by Elizabeth I in 1600. At first the British had lived in India only as traders, but the rivalry of French traders had led them to form a small army of native soldiers who came to be known as sepoy, from an Urdu word meaning horsemen.

In 1756 the Indian ruler of Bengal, encouraged by the French, seized the Company's Fort William trading station at Calcutta and imprisoned its 146 white inhabitants in a cell eighteen feet long by fourteen feet wide and with almost no ventilation. They were kept there for the whole of a hot Indian night, and next morning only twenty-three were alive. The British fought back, and this event, known as the 'Black Hole of Calcutta', was revenged by an army under Clive at the battle of Plassey.

The East India Company claimed that it was interested only in trade, but for successful trading peace and efficient administration were required, and gradually the British imposed their rule upon the Indian people. The British in India believed sincerely that the Indian peoples were happy to be ruled by them. The better an Englishman was, the more willing to serve, the more sympathetic to his Indian neighbours, the more likely he was to be surprised if they did not return the goodwill which he showed. 'Of course,' he would say to himself, 'there are always criminals and grumblers ready to stir up trouble, but any reasonable Indian is content with—no, glad of—British rule.' He knew, of course, that there were Englishmen who treated Indians badly, who insulted and exploited them; but

such shortcomings were compensated by the great benefits the British had brought to India. To his mind the British had found the nation under the heel of Eastern despots, and in fragments, politically and socially. They had given it unity, peace, and, as far as was possible without interfering too much with the Indians' various religions, had exalted their ideals and put down many revolting customs.

Today we can understand that people do not wish their countries to be colonies or parts of other people's empires: they would rather make their own decisions, even if wrong ones, than receive benefits from a foreign ruling race. It is part of human nature to resent other people's interference, even though it is intended to be for one's own good.

Such ideas were quite unintelligible a hundred years ago. The best of men assumed that the coming of the British was the best thing that had ever happened to India.

For many years there had been an uneasy peace between the British and the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, but in 1845 the Punjab's moderate ruler died and war broke out. Three years later Britain defeated and annexed the Punjab. Lord Dalhousie, the British Governor-General, adopted a policy of absorbing as many of the surviving native states as possible. He preferred not to have to go to war, but made use of a law by which, if the ruler of a princely state died without an heir, the state was annexed by the paramount power—previously the Mogul Emperors and the Mahrattas, and now the British. In theory India was still ruled by an Emperor, an old gentleman who was the last successor of the Great Akbar. He lived in Delhi and had no power outside his palace, though the British

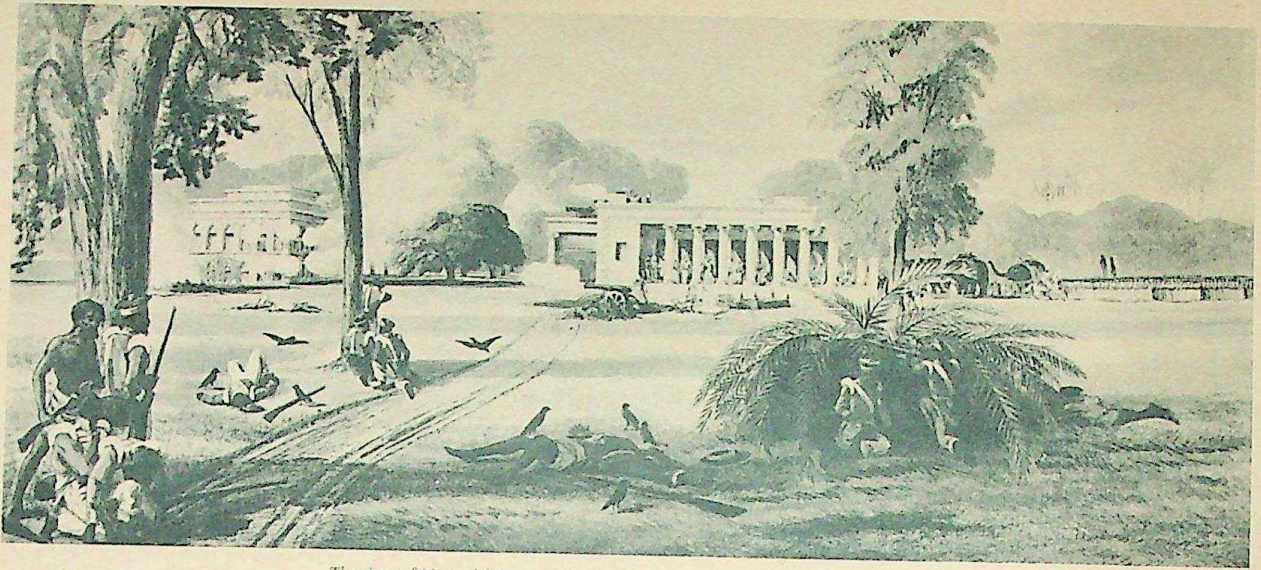
showed him formal deference, standing barefoot before him in the palace and calling him Ruler of the Universe.

Among Mohammedans, and even more among Hindus, the custom had grown up for rich men and princes to make sure of an heir by adopting sons. For Hindus it was necessary to have a son to perform certain religious ceremonies after their death. The British administration did not try to stop the custom of adoption, but Lord Dalhousie refused, in certain cases, to recognize the right of an adopted son to inherit the rights and powers of a princely father. By declaring, theoretically on behalf of the Emperor, that a prince's state was without heir, he could annex it and bring it under British control. The first state which he treated in this way was Satara, south of Bombay; then he annexed Nagpur. He considered annexing the ancient state of Kerauli, and although this plan was finally abandoned all India knew of his original intention, and the harm was done. Many landowners, aristocrats and minor rulers considered themselves wronged by the so-called reforms made by the British. The last of Dalhousie's annexations, and the most suspect, was the state of Oudh, whose capital was Lucknow. This was the last surviving large Mohammedan state in northern India, and its annexation stirred the bitter resentment of millions of Muslims.

To the Indians it seemed that the British were seeking to impose upon the continent not only their rule, but their religion too. Whilst political suppression encouraged rebellion and revolt among the aristocracy and superior castes, the attacks upon religion were resented by rich and poor, Muslim and Hindu alike.



Mansell Collection



The siege of Mr Boyle's house in Arrah. When the sepoy rebels entered Arrah on July 27th, 1857, European and Eurasian residents took refuge in the house (left) which had already been prepared for a

siege by blocking up most of the windows and entrances. They held out until August 3rd when they were relieved by a force under Major Vincent Eyre.

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE MUTINY

The first news of the Mutiny to reach the Governor-General, Lord Canning, in Calcutta was in the form of a private telegram from the postmaster of Meerut to his aunt in Agra:

Cavalry have risen . . . setting fire to houses . . . having killed or wounded all Europeans they could find . . . If aunt intends starting tomorrow evening please detain her.

Meanwhile the Commander-in-Chief in Simla was given a telegram just arrived from Delhi:

We must leave office . . . All bungalows are burning . . . Sepoys from Meerut . . . came in this morning . . . We are off . . . Mr Todd is dead I think . . . He went out this morning and has not returned . . . Nine Europeans killed . . . Goodbye . . .

That was all. The authorities did not know what had happened at Meerut and Delhi until long after. Communications were primitive. The electric telegraph had recently been installed between some major towns, but lines were easily cut and contact broken. The only railway was from Calcutta, 400 miles north, and only one road connected the area of the Mutiny—the Ganges basin—with the rest of India. The Ganges, 800 miles of winding river, remained the chief form of communication. England did not get news of what was happening until the end of June.

* * *

The Mutiny broke out in many different places at almost the same time, and this has suggested to some people that it was an organized political rising. Broadsheet 1 gives some of the reasons for unrest in India, but the incident which fanned this smouldering resentment into the flame of rebellion was the issue of an improved kind of cartridge to the Indian sepoy army. The new feature was a patch of grease which made it easier to ram the cartridge into position after the rifleman had torn it open with his teeth.

The ingredients of the grease had not been named, but it was reported that cow's fat and pig's fat were included. Nobody thought much about this, though one British officer wrote a memorandum—which nobody seems to have read—reminding the army authorities that, as the cow was the sacred beast of Hindus (it is actually the bull which is sacred, but to kill an animal is itself a religious offence), and the

pig the most detestable of animals to the Muslims, there might be an offence to their religions in touching the grease. Only a few British were able to realize that a thing so trivial to them might be a matter of religious and social importance to millions.

A low-caste Indian, being abused one day by a higher-caste sepoy, got his own back by jeering at him, saying he would not hold his head so high soon because, by touching the fat of the cow and the foul pig, he would make himself unclean. The sepoy went back to his comrades alarmed at the threat and found, or thought he found, that the story of the grease was true. The rumour spread up and down India, and soon many garrisons were seething with unrest. Their British officers sought to reassure them and promised that in future cartridges would be greased only with a lubricant acceptable to them. But the mischief was done.

Soon another mysterious thing occurred. It was later found to have nothing to do with the coming troubles, but has never been explained. It added to the restlessness and suspicion. In many districts of northern India *chapatti*, unleavened cakes of wheat, were sent about the countryside. Every village to which they were sent was told to send off four more. People regarded this as a warning of something serious to come.

On February 27th a detachment of Indian troops refused to exercise with cartridges which, as it happened, were not the new greased ones at all. The local authorities compromised and the incident closed without a court martial, but the unrest began to spread far and wide. In March a Muslim priest in Lucknow began to preach a *jihad*, or 'Holy War', against the British. Soon a widespread mutiny had begun with the most horrible massacres of British officers and their families.

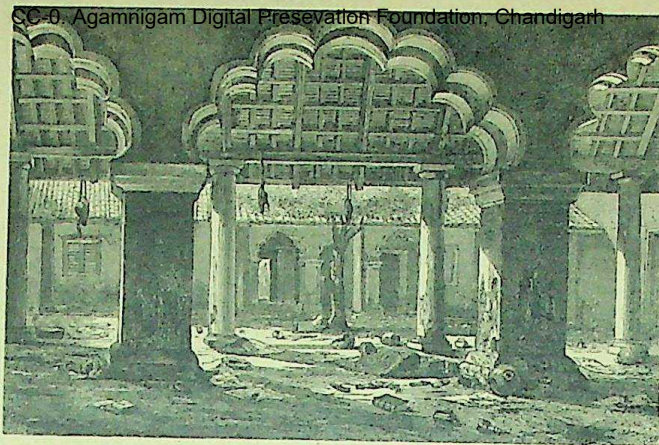
As the Governor-General, Lord Canning, said later, 'The first great act of rebellion was the immediate result of a severe sentence carried out, with every degrading accessory, at Meerut.' On April 23rd a British officer there paraded his sepoy troops to explain to them that the drill had been changed: it was no longer necessary to bite the offending cartridges, they could be torn with the fingers. Ninety men were ordered to draw cartridges

for the demonstration, but 85 refused. They were court-martialled and sentenced to ten years' hard labour. A punishment parade was ordered. On May 9th the prisoners were marched before the other troops, stripped of their uniforms and put in fetters, and then marched two miles to the civil jail. The sepoy troops stood in their ranks dumbfounded, and the severity of this punishment met with silent disapproval even from many British officers.

During the next twenty-four hours the sepoy troops grasped what had happened, and a plan developed to liberate the condemned men. As the British soldiers were falling in for church parade on Sunday evening the sepoys mutinied. Most of the British officers were murdered, and the 85 prisoners were rescued from the jail along with 1,200 ordinary criminals. The civil population began looting and attacking the Europeans, while the mutineers themselves made off for Delhi.

In Delhi, which was garrisoned entirely by Indian troops, the old Mogul Emperor, who hitherto had had no power or importance, was proclaimed Emperor indeed by the sepoys, nearly all of whom joined the Meerut mutineers.

During May and June the mutiny spread and there were further risings throughout the summer. The British forces sought to contain the rebellion by disarming sepoy regiments which they thought were unreliable, but this only led to more trouble. At Benares, for instance, disorder broke out at a disarmament parade and British troops opened fire, blowing a detachment of Indian troops to pieces. At Lucknow and Cawnpore the British populations were surrounded and besieged by rebels. At Lucknow the British held out in the Residency for six months before being relieved. Even then the relief force was not strong enough to hold the position and withdrew to Cawnpore with the sick and wounded. The city was not finally in British hands until March 1858. As the British forces fought their way there to put down the rebellion and relieve these towns they did not moderate their revenge. At Allahabad in particular, General Gordon destroyed villages and executed rebels, not making much distinction between real rebels and ordinary villagers.



The building at Cawnpore where the women and children were kept prisoner and finally massacred before the arrival of Sir Henry Havelock's relieving force.

Mansell Collection

CAWNPORE

The last of the legitimate princes of Cawnpore had died in 1851, leaving as his heir an adopted son, Nana Sahib. The British had earned his implacable but often concealed enmity by refusing to transfer to him the pension enjoyed by his father, by making him subject to ordinary law courts, and by denying him use of the royal seal. By his hospitality, however, Nana Sahib earned the trust of the British officers in Cawnpore, and when the crisis came in 1857 they felt sure of his sympathy and help.

News of the mutiny at Meerut reached Cawnpore on May 14th, and an uneasy fear that something was about to happen seemed to settle on all; but the experienced commander, General Wheeler, was quite sure of his sepoy, and everyone was so sure of Nana Sahib that they put the treasury under his protection and even discussed sending the women and children to his palace.

The uneasiness increased. Rumours spread of the dreadful vengeance taken on the villages by the advancing British relief forces. By the end of the month everyone feared a mutiny. 'We are in the utmost danger and if the troops mutiny', wrote Colonel Ewart, in a letter home, 'my life must almost certainly be sacrificed.'

Then a British officer got drunk and fired on some sepoy. He was let off at a court martial on the defence that, being drunk, he was not in possession of his senses. This was the needed spark, for since drunkenness is not a valid excuse in law, the sepoys took the decision as proof that their officers were going to do them serious mischief. One false rumour which started said that, having failed with the cartridges to make them ritually unclean, the

officers had mixed powdered cow's and pig's bones with their flour. It was decided not to risk provoking a rebellion by bringing in more British troops, but on the night of June 4th the men began to mutiny. To the horror of everyone Nana Sahib suddenly changed sides and sent a message that he was about to attack the British entrenchments.

The barracks and compound were not prepared to stand a protracted siege, and within a week children were dying of thirst, and food was scarce. Rifles exploded in the heat; the thatched roof was burned down and all medical stores lost; the women slept on the bare earth of the trenches. There was no adequate protection against the rebels' fire; nowhere to bury the dead; children, oblivious to danger, were killed running about the compound; prisoners were shot.

On June 24th General Wheeler sent out his last message to Lucknow: 'Surely we are not to die like rats in a cage.' But his 'faithful' sepoys and the trusted Nana Sahib were preparing even worse outrages than the general feared.

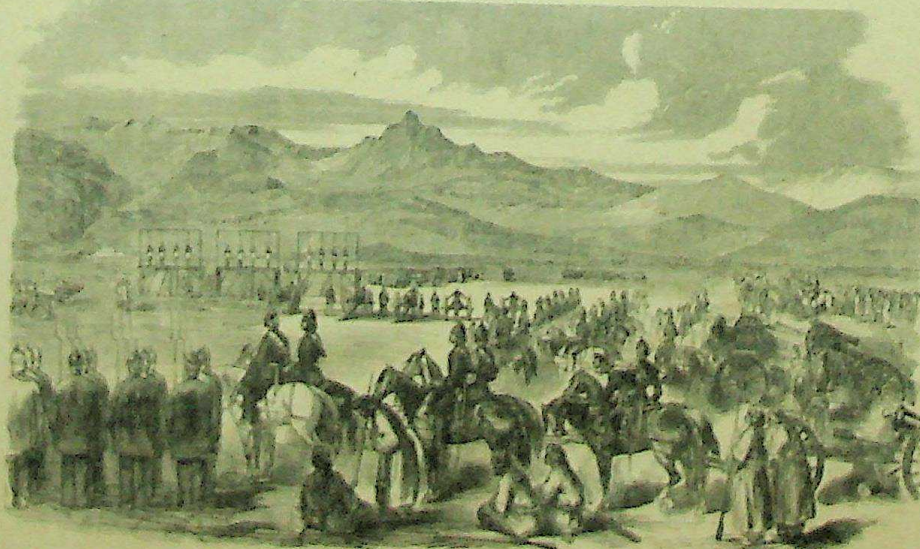
An Indian woman with a baby in her arms was sent by Nana Sahib offering an armistice and an evacuation of the British, in safety, to Allahabad by river. Each man was to have his arms, and the women, children and wounded were to be taken on elephants to the boats. This was done, but when all were piled into the boats, fire was set to the roofs and a deadly rain of bullets descended on them.

This river massacre is inexplicable; on the way down from the barracks sepoys had come and asked earnestly after their officers, and if they heard they had been killed they expressed deep regret. Why, then, did they turn into

savages the next moment? Some say the escaping British opened fire, others that all had been arranged by Nana Sahib; nobody knows the truth. The remaining women and children captives were taken back to a building called Bibighan. When the rebels realized that they would eventually be defeated, panic seems to have attacked them. Nearly two hundred women and children were crowded into this small building and Nana Sahib sent his men to shoot them down. They fired at the ceiling, so rabble from the town were sent for; all night they hacked and mutilated and killed. The corpses and near-corpses—some children were still alive—were dragged to a well and thrown in. When the relieving forces arrived some hours too late they are said to have heard faint moans. But nothing could be done, and the well was filled in.

It will for ever remain a mystery why these things happened; whether Nana Sahib was responsible or whether his men, or the mutinying sepoys, or the riff-raff of the town mad with lust for cruelty. It is worth pointing out, in partial explanation rather than as an excuse, that General Neill carried out his atrocities at Allahabad and elsewhere before and not after the atrocities at Cawnpore.

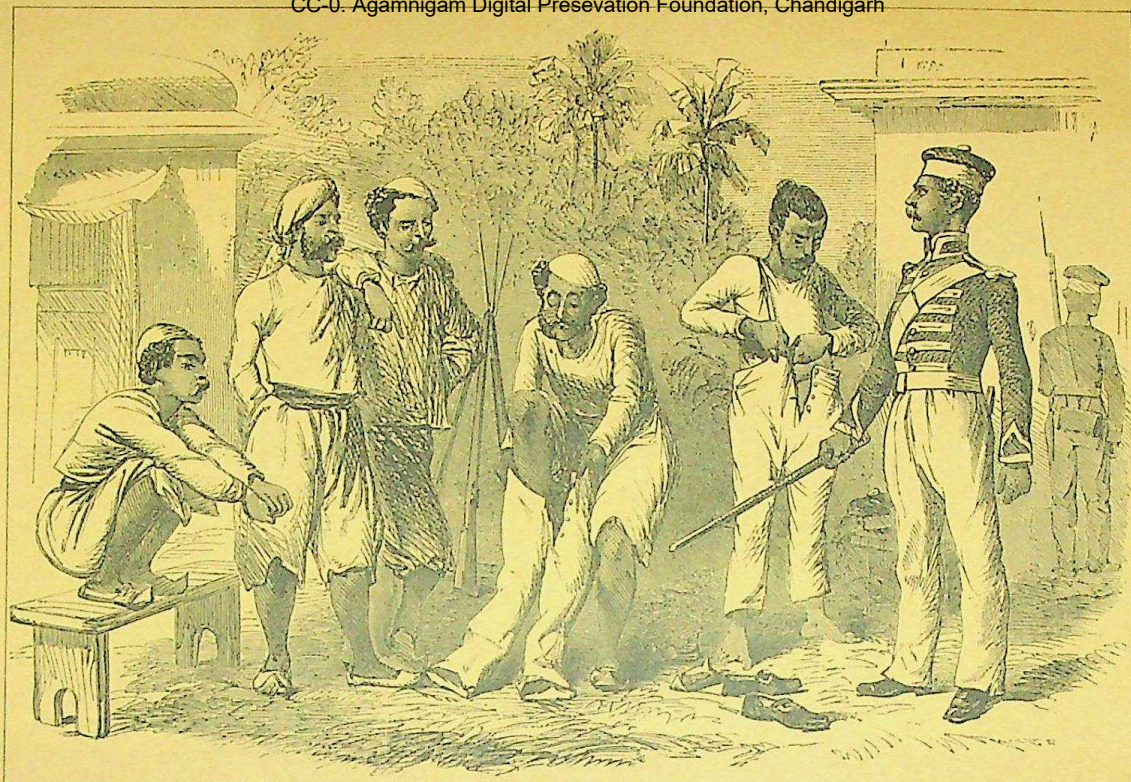
It is important to remember that, horrible as this massacre was, the British retaliated with equally horrible deeds. Because this has not always got into the history books much damage has been done. General Neill, a very religious man, 'did things almost more than the massacre, putting to death with deliberate torture in a way that has never been proved against the natives'. This is the unprejudiced view of Sir George Campbell, Judge of the High Court in Calcutta and later an M.P.



Execution of sepoys at Ferozabad. On the left they are being hung, in the centre they are tied up from the cannon and shot.

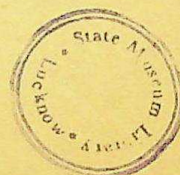
Mansell Collection

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



'How Bengalese are converted into sepoys', a sketch by Captain Atkinson.
Mansell Collection

THE TWO SIDES



There is no point in lingering too long over the horrible side of this story. Until the Second World War human beings probably never behaved so badly again. But there are many lessons to be learned from it and some of them suggest common-sense solutions for the problems we now face, for example in Africa.

The first lesson concerns the true meaning of the greased-cartridge problem; it is an example of what has too often been wrong about Europe's dealings with other parts of the world. Christians have often neglected to practise what they preach, though they have no doubt that the greatest gift they can offer to the rest of the world is Christianity. Convinced that their religion is the only true one, they have not understood the depth of other people's religious convictions.

The British had many warnings of the danger of treating Indian religious beliefs lightly. In 1806, British officers, feeling that Muslim soldiers did not look smart enough if they wore beards, or sepoys if they wore sect marks on their foreheads, ordered these things to be done away with. The British did not understand the religious importance these things had for the soldiers, and made things worse by ordering the soldiers to wear a leather cockade on their turbans. The soldiers revolted: to touch this leather would probably make them ritually unclean and lower their caste in a future life. Although the British punished the mutineers severely, they withdrew the new regulations and everything quietened down; but a necessary lesson was not learnt.

In 1824 war broke out in Burma, and Hindu regiments refused to go there because their religion forbade them to cross any sea. The Commander-in-Chief visited the disaffected troops and had them shot or hung.

Next, in 1829, came the abolition of suttee, a custom whereby widows threw themselves on to their husbands' funeral pyres to die among the flames. Here the British had the support of the more enlightened Indians who were already in favour of abolishing so barbarous a practice, but even the abolition of

this custom of widow-burning had its fanatical opponents among the ultra-religious classes, and once more there were grounds for anti-British propaganda.

In general, both Muslim and Hindu objected to Christians attempting to convert people to their religion, and used every opportunity to spread the idea that secret and vile methods were being used by the British to undermine Hindu caste rules and Mohammedan precepts, so as to force Christianity on the people. It was this suspicion that made the question of the greased cartridges so potentially dangerous. The sepoys behaved as men do when they can restrain themselves no longer, and their smouldering resentment exploded into madness.

There were also other matters, of vital importance to the Indians, which the British disregarded. For instance, a few years before the Mutiny a hospital was built for sick persons irrespective of creed or social position. The authorities said that all sick persons high and low could attend, and forbade treatment by Indian doctors. Ignorant people imagined that this was another way in which the British intended to take away their dignity and their honour.

Christian pastors visited the sick in prisons in accordance with Christian charity—that was taking unfair advantage of unfortunates, to their ultimate spiritual peril. When roads were built, sometimes upsetting a temple, that was regarded as a means of destroying sacred places rather than as a means of improving communications. When starving children were rescued by orphanages it was regarded as a plot to make them Christians. In 1855 a colonel was disturbed on a Sunday afternoon when a noisy religious procession, which he had prohibited, passed by his garden. He remonstrated with their leaders, ordered them to disperse, and seized two of their flags. That night he narrowly escaped being murdered, so great was the anger he had inspired by his 'anti-religious' actions.

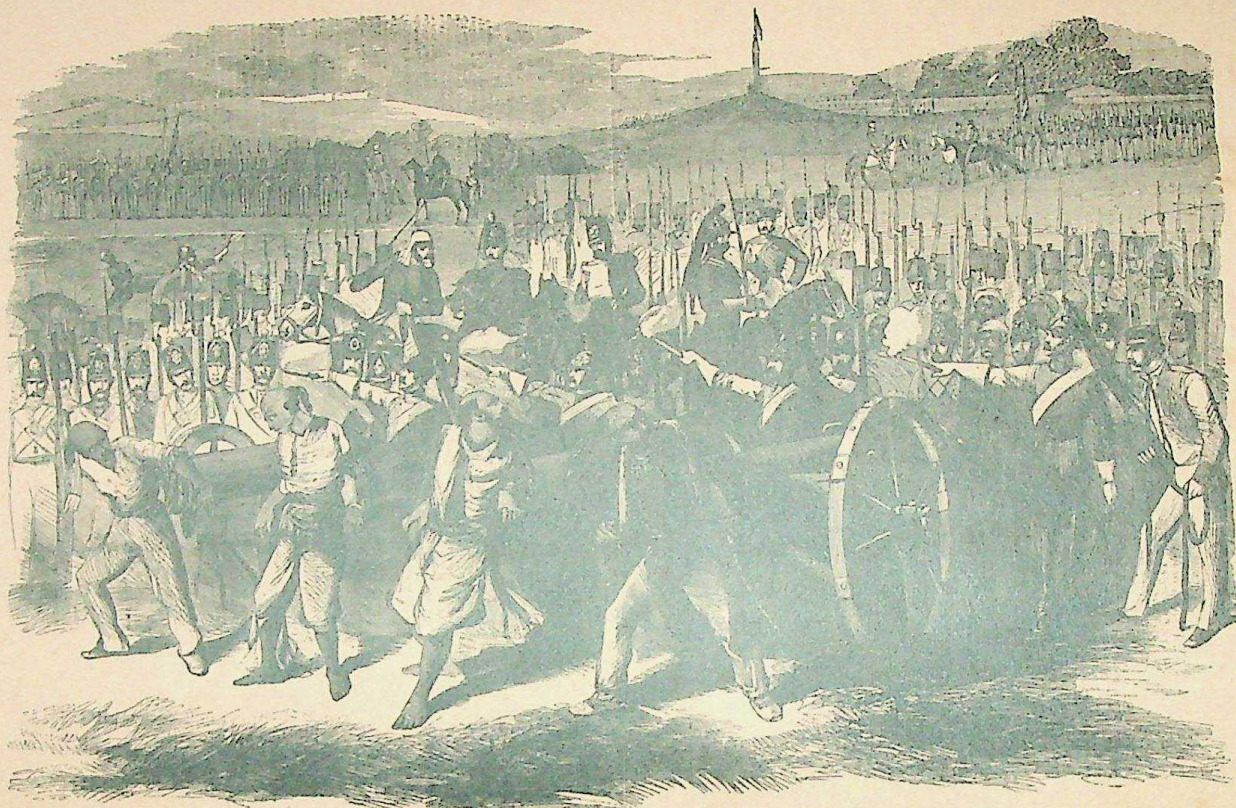
But with the coming of the railways things seemed to become impossible for the Indians.

A Brahman might find himself next to an untouchable; he had to fast on his journeys or omit the proper eating rituals, and so on. The more suspicious Indians believed that the British had deliberately introduced railways in order to disrupt their society. At this moment a Mr Edmond printed a circular which began:

The time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the subject, whether or not all men should embrace the same system of Religion. Railways, Steam Vessels and the Electric Telegraph, are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth: the more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become, that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, the same hopes, the same fears, and therefore, the same nature and the same origin. It is also very certain that death universally closes the scene... Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself, by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? Surely, this cannot be.

The trouble was that Mr Edmond assumed that 'the one God' wished Christianity to be the only way. The circulation of this pamphlet was the height of folly, and, although the Governor denied the implications, trouble-makers and religious fanatics alike used the opportunity it gave to attack the British.

In brief, the Mutiny was caused by lack of knowledge about and sympathy with the Indian peoples which were almost universal among the younger British officers. When they wanted to deal well with Indians they wanted to do so in their own way. They were, moreover, convinced of European superiority. They had only too much reason to suppose that the Indian of those days could not govern himself. When they loved the Indian it was with the same sort of love they would give to a pet dog. Justice without dignity is no gift for a proud people. On the Indian side, things were made difficult by the fanaticism of those who really believed in the minutiae of their religions and insisted against all odds on remaining faithful to them.



"BRITISH CIVILIZATION"—HOW THE ENGLISH TREAT PRISONERS OF WAR—BLOWING SEPOYS FROM GUNS IN INDIA. 1857.

An illustration from an American publication of 1857. Mansell Collection

The British Reaction

What did people think in England when the first rumours of rebellion in India trickled through?

It was not until late in June that news began to arrive in London. The *Illustrated London News* on July 4th started off with a horrified announcement. The newspaper thought that the Mutiny could surely not last long and indeed was probably already over, but it was such an inexplicable thing that there must be a hidden reason and the *Illustrated London News* knew what it was: it was all due to the Russians. Everybody knew that they had been plotting our destruction in India for many years.

Now whenever anything surprising and important happens that is in the nature of a political upheaval, there is always a tendency to suspect a plot. It was impossible for the average Englishman to imagine that any section of the Indian people could be anything but grateful for what they had done for them, especially for bringing Christianity to them. The Indians must have been put up to it by one of Britain's enemies.

The *Times* had quite a different explanation. Its leader writer pointed out, quite rightly, that the disaffection was confined to the army. No civilian group supported it. The

Mutiny, therefore, was Britain's fault for having created an Indian army at all; and the remedy was clear: disband the Indian native army and rule India by means of British soldiers only. It is fortunate that we did not take this advice.

When the affair of the greased cartridges was reported in London, very many Englishmen regarded it as a mere excuse. It was not an excuse: it was the last straw—a very different thing. It seemed to the sepoy to prove that the British were using foul means to destroy the caste system and force Christianity on India. By October, when people knew enough to appreciate the gravity of events, *The Times* said: 'We have not won the reverence due to ourselves as a nobler race', and the *Illustrated London News* felt that it was because the British had been too 'soft'. 'India is not our colony, but our conquest, and as a conquest we must treat it, if we hope to retain it.' It was a mistake, some said, to give up flogging. Others said it was a mistake to make all promotion in the sepoy ranks depend on seniority and not merit.

Englishmen were divided as to the merits and demerits of Christian missions. On the one hand, they thought they should educate people

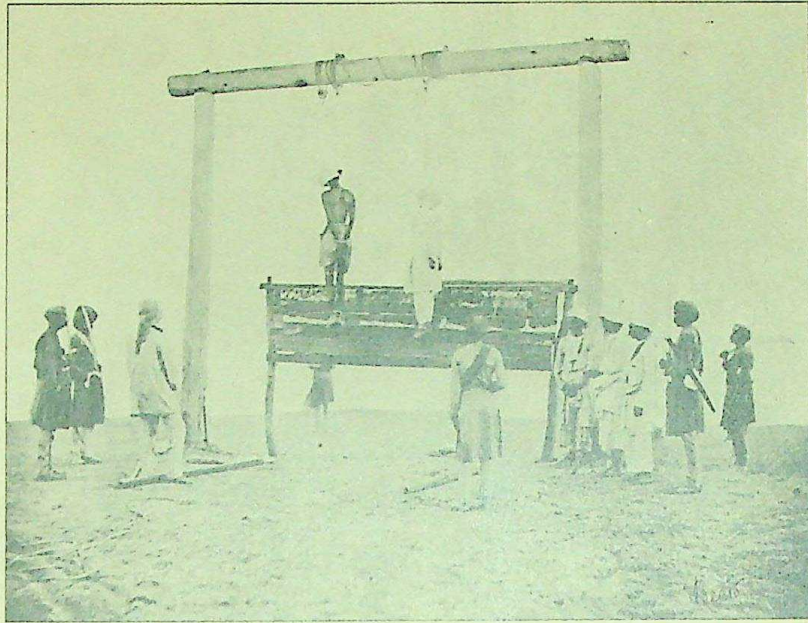
who were so ignorant as to make an issue of the greased cartridges; on the other hand, experience showed that it was best to interfere as little as possible with people's religious beliefs. Two things were certain: Christian missions must not have any connection with political officials, and any official attempt at conversion should be avoided.

In many cases the British suppressed the Mutiny with a violence that equalled that of the mutineers. Innocent and guilty were slaughtered alike, and sepoys were executed by being fired from guns.

Because of one misunderstood regulation he made, the Governor-General, Lord Canning, was accused of being too 'soft'. To those thirsting for revenge he was known as Clemency Canning—but in reality he was, if anything, too severe. To General Anson he ordered: 'Dispose speedily of Delhi and make a terrible example. No amount of severity can be too great. I will support you in any degree of it.'

By their violence the British forced the innocent and the indifferent to find common cause with the fanatically guilty, who were a very small minority, for only perhaps ten per cent were their active enemies.

THE RESULTS OF THE MUTINY



The result for the Mutineers: photograph of executions in Delhi, taken by Beato.
Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

The chief immediate result of the Mutiny was that trust in the East India Company as the controlling power in India was lost. In 1858 Queen Victoria became ruler of India and India part of the British Empire.

In the years that followed an atmosphere of tension and distrust remained between Indian and Briton. Each side was haunted by the other's atrocities, the sepoys in beginning the Mutiny, the British in their savagery in putting it down. Nearly a hundred years of bitterness and ugly incidents were to follow. The British believed that they could remain safe only by the use of force, the Indians retaliated with distrust.

Things were made worse because British children were taught only one side of the evil picture and an attitude to India grew up which made it impossible to think of India's problems in a rational, quiet way. On the other hand, Indian children grew up with stories of the evils which the British had done in suppressing what Indians came to think of as a war of independence.

It was this distrust which led, for instance, to incidents like that in 1919 when General Dyer found himself faced with a mob of excited angry Sikhs at Jallianwala Bagh near Amritsar. There had been murders, a girls' school had been set on fire, and a mob had gathered armed with lethal clubs. They must be dispersed. To Dyer there seemed only one thing to do: fire at them. Ten minutes later 1,500 men, women and children were dead and many more lay groaning and bleeding. Edward Thompson wrote:

At Jallianwala and during the outcry which our people made afterwards we see the workings of imperfectly informed minds obsessed with the thoughts of Caunpore and of merciless, unreasoning 'devils' butchering our women. Action was taken to stamp out the danger by the methods which were understood to have been efficacious before . . . Then, when the official mind, which was horrified at the clumsy work of its military colleague, but felt obliged to support it, failed to prevent the news from 'seeping' through India, percolating rapidly from bazaar to bazaar till three hundred millions were throbbing and

shuddering with a unison they had never known before—no, not once in India's millenniums of history—the European took to a tempest of hysterical excitement.

Yet, in the same year a gift of £30,000 was subscribed for General Dyer by those who supported his action. India was finally lost for Britain.

When Independence came at last in 1947, attitudes had changed. Now we must try to understand the motives of both sides in the Mutiny; to realize that atrocities were committed by Indians and British alike; and then to abolish hate and remember the lesson of history.

The Indian sub-continent still has many problems: among them the unrest between the two states into which it is now divided, the Muslim state of Pakistan and the Hindu state of the Indian Union. Before 1857 these two great religious groups were not hostile to one another. It seems then that even the division of India into two nations may owe its origin to the Mutiny.

NOTICE.

AS the Assumption by Her Majesty the Queen of the British Territories in India, will be publicly proclaimed on Monday, the 1st of November 1858, the Magistrate of Karachi requests that all Her Majesty's Subjects will show their loyalty by a general illumination of their residences.

The Brigadier Commanding the Station has ordered a Parade to be held at 5 p. m. on Monday the 1st November, on the plain in rear of the Quatre Lions.

The Commissioner in Sind will also hold a Durbar at the English School House at 6 p. m. on the same day in honor of the occasion.

A. F. Bellamy.

MAGISTRATE OF KARACHI.

KARACHI.
20th October 1858.